HILAIRE BELLOC BITTERLY ASSAILS BRITISH PLUTOCRACY

By HILAIRE BELLOC.

The following unusual and important article has come to THE SUN-DAY SUN. Its author, Hilaire Belloc, is one of the foremost of English writers on war problems and THE SUNDAY SUN presents the article in the belief that whatever Mr. Belloc has to say is interesting, but without in any way expressing its opinion of the writer's political creed.

THE chief task facing those men in England to-day who wish to see a resurrected and strengthened England arise from this war is (to put it in the most general terms) the task of making what was an aristocracy and is now a plutocracy act tike a democracy.

In the matter of the war and its peace the need is so urgent and the punishment threatening ignorance. corruption or a bad political machinery so evident and so tremendous that they have a better chance of accomplishing their object than heretofore.

Let me give at once an example that will show both the difficulty and the nature of such a task.

Not long since in England a brilltant journalist and editor, Mr. Cecil Chesterton, and I worked side by side for months making public the nature of parliamentary decline. After a general exposure in book and newspaper we proceeded to a particular ose in proof, the business of the "Marconi" scandal.

It was one out of dozens of such things which are native to the atmosphere of the English Parliament, but it was an excellent working model with which to move our contempo-

Mr. Chesterton put it forth most clearly and fully. Of course all that could be concealed by the culprits was concealed-and still is-but the "Marconf ramp" was made an object lesson so reiterated and so insisted upon that atives sums of money obtained, directy and indirectly, by monopolies, special contracts, &c., out of the public were at last convinced.

strength of Protestant England since chief material effect. the fall of the monarchy in the seventeenth century the "Marconi" men every side that it was quixotic and from her dependence upon the sea.

as masters but as servants. Dishonesty upon their part, though more frequently attempted perhaps than under other forms of government, is checked because it grows dangerous by the same plutocratic forces as imple process of attaching unpleasant consequences to corruption. At best the culprits are imprisoned (like Gartes) and the culprits are imprisoned to constitute the culprit at sea much more gravely threatened to submit to any at sea much more gravely threatened to submit to any the culprit to constitute the cul Hertz). At the least they suffer genhonors and salaries to the lesser ones,
tral contempt. Honest men refuse to
How does all this apply to the pressecond Harmsworth); a few other
honors and salaries to the lesser ones,
and the interests of the comhonors and salaries to the lesser ones,
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and the interests of the comhonors and salaries to the lesser ones,
and the interests of the comhonors and salaries to the lesser ones,
and the handling of freights; we have seen it in the exceptions to
our own eyes) would have fallen upon have seen it in the exceptions to
accumulated reserve of wealth, to have to hide and retire.



pocket. I say, so far as plain state- and patent to the observation of all: phous commercial power, bound toment and proof were concerned, all the first an indifference to right and gether by the interests of her merwrong-the chief moral consequence chants and financiers but increasingly What was the result?

Under the old aristogratic conditions of plutocracy; the second the direct wealth in a plutocracy force in the world she will decline very n England which had been the to govern to its own advantage its rapidly indeed.

would have been done for. Not that fanatical to set up an impossible stand- Britain is also the most vulnerable aristocracles are other than cynical but ard of purity in public life; that there objective offered to such a fee. Her that their power depends upon a cer- was no great harm in such things; dependence upon the sea makes her in it, and that cunning was the chief

funkel) or driven to suicide (like Relnach) or they fly the country (like
was given to one newspaper vulgarian them.

less and exhaustive in the pursuit of the commonwealth, at any rate on a rent necessities of national sustenach) or they fly the country (like the second Harmsworth); a few other them.

ent crisis? In the following manner:

Britain is clearly at once the chief that oligarchy for the sake of its prestration.

Under a democracy the culprites would have been punished, for under a democracy public men are regarded not as masters but as servants. Dishonesty as masters but as servants. Dishonesty and become oblivious.

The danger upon mechanical and limited things. A determined enemy with great material resources can far more great material resources can far more deadly build a great fleet than he can recreate a dominant army after defeat. Further, certain changes in marine attack and defence due to as masters but as servants. Dishonesty had become oblivious.

The danger to England lies in the fact that unning is the opposite and corrosives after defeat. Further, certain changes in marine attack and defence upon mechanical and limited things. A determined enemy with great material resources can far more fact that what really governs us is plutocratic, and that the aristocracy imperies the masses round them.

The danger to England lies in the fact that what really governs us is plutocratic, and that the aristocracy is gone and the populace impotent to quite modern invention make security quite meters of the masses round them.

The danger to England lies in the fact that what really governs us is plutocratic, and that the aristocracy is gone and the populace impotent to quite modern invention make security possible, but ready to submit to any possible, but ready to submit to any them.

The danger to England lies in the fact that unning area them.

The danger to England lies in the fact that what really governs us is gone and the populace impotent to in the masses round them.

The danger to England lies in the fact that unning area the corrosives of wisdom, as sloth and our reverence of them.

The danger to England lies in the fact that unning area them.

The masses round them.

The second way in which the masses round them.

The second way in which the mass

and certainly less informed. It would ment to the complete destruction of the have worked more by instinct. It enemy. ever of the prime necessity to-day, terms of peace from impoverishing the Every one among the Euclich people enemy.

But under the present English England is at the present time un- members would not only have ex- larly apparent in the hesitation shown mediately and irrevocably upon the regime of plutocracy neither of these der the acute, imperative necessity of pended all their energy against the by many when they discuss the com- field of battle.

mercial terms to be imposed upon the enemy and their fear lest a complete victory for the Allies should interfere with private gain in commerce.

From the point of view of the English nation as a whole a victorious of American shares held in the prosecution of the war. In part it has been exchanged for material obtained from neutral countries. For instance, the list nation as a whole a victorious in this accumulation has been balances and the rupes scandal, all of them actively in power.

Such is the second form of the peril of a premature peace, the second way neutral countries. For instance, the lin which the fact that the English are list of these popular forces that the appeal must be made. Not so long ago the appeal to aristocracy might have had its force but to-day that factor is quite dead.

The fool who says "all war is wrong"

and toward themselves.

drain of wealth from a Germany conadvantage. It is a policy the victor fiscation. The possessors of these accan impose most simply by lifelong indemnity, most drastically by the confiscation of mortgage and scrip with the State promised them a certain garrisons to maintain the treaty.

English private interests are at issue revenue it could probably raise. with such a policy. The financier has interests bound up with German inter- war is reaching its term. ests; the merchant fears the ruin of accumulation of material still remainhis client.

There is here a very interesting ex- in this voluntary fashion. The State ample of private fortune misunder- may try to obtain it by promising standing its own advantage from its greater future rewards than it is ever

The financial interests which are ability will be patent to those who are by far the strongest, things in Great approached for a loan. Britain-thoroughly understand the taking of tribute from the occupied and beyond a certain period-I have sug-

consolation for their recent sad expe- allies wholeheartedly to eliminate the scrupulous and even vicious if we dis- ing that wealth, shall regularly pass it criminal power, then the future of agree with it; but we cannot deny that over to the victors. If those members Why was this? It was due to effects of plutocracy working quite openly allies is beyond doubt. She will remain for long a great, somewhat amortant to the observation of all:

Why was this? It was due to effects of the money market, have begun to live harding guessed. It is possible—it is to be prayed for clans who permitted what followed and material to the observation of all:

Why was this? It was due to effects of the money market, have begun to live harding guessed. It is possible—it is to be prayed for clans who permitted what followed and material to the observation of all:

Why was this? It was due to effects of the money market, have begun to live harding guessed. It is possible—it is to be prayed for clans who permitted what followed and object to see the money market. It is possible—it is to be prayed for clans who permitted what followed and object to see the money market. It is possible—it is to be prayed for clans who permitted what followed and object to see the money market. It is possible—it is to be prayed for clans who permitted what followed and object to see the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects to the money market. It was due to effects the money market. It was due t A democracy would in another fash- this almost self-evident economic propion have been equally determined and esition the power of their great for-direct, though perhaps less prompt, tunes would no longer be an impedi-

is to-day agreed. The speech of all. Meanwhile those who have personal in the street and in the growds is the interests in the enemy territory (and that their power depends upon a certain prestige, and members of their oil-tain prestige, and members of their oil-garchy discovered and exposed in an imaginified position are thrust out of in it, and that equipment was the chart tenism," are numerically quite insig- is the first way in which the new that oligarchy for the sake of its pres- requisite in an administrator and his degree upon mechanical and limited nineant and utterly out of tune with plateeracy imperies the final success

funkel) or driven to suicide (like Rei- then hushed up the issue. A peerage tional interests, and is prompt, ruth- been allowed to weigh, if not against or demanded over and above the cur-

this problem with the rapidity and blockade; we have seen it in the field withdraw it from the production of directness of lightning. Its governing of contracts. But this cuil is particus further wealth, to consume it im-

Brilliant English Writer Says That if Governmental Powers Are Not Taken From the Hands of Selfish and Unpatriotic Men the Peril of Peace Will Be Greater Than War

lish nation as a whole a victorious getting rid of American shares held a plutocracy may interfere with the people has no economic advantage in Britain simply means that whereas achievement of complete victory.

Whatsoever in leaving the vanquished wealth. There is every advantage in say, a group of buildings in American shares held a plutocracy may interfere with the people victory.

But it may be asked by what instrument the plutocracy could act thus right whether on the head of my aunt rapidly to pervert opinions in a matter perverted fool who cannot reconcile justice.

Thus to exclude the goods of a con-quered Germany from the British Isles is the act of an idiot. To permit a British revenue drawn from America of the population—have no informathe act of a traitor. Yet these two the gray of the Flanders sky.

would probably have made initial mis-takes. But it would have attempted to Even those wealthy men who have no But they cannot be got to see it. correct them by its later energy, and interests in the enemy's country will above all it would have no doubt what- almost certainly work to prevent the

effort of the victor should be turned forego this rent forever in exchange | This question leads me to the third to the draining of that wealth, once for a number of shells the Americans way in which the peril of it appears, has indeed an influence in English so-produced, away from the vanquished have made for him; which shells produce no further wealth in consump- control of the press.

conquered Germany to build up new has disappeared. It has disappeared tion save through the press. The vate necessities of individual politiwealth wherewith to attack again is in those little puffs of white against things they care for and discuss are clans give him considerable power;

the English plutocracy irrespectively.

There is but one obvious public pol
"financed"—that is, in plain English, and the public spirit of those very few spirit of those very few and the public spirit of the very few and the public spirit of the very few and the very f the coal, chemicals, the cloth and the wealthy men depends the true information of wealth from a Germany control and the wheat, &c., could be obmation of the people; upon their basewealthy men depends the true infor- situation. tained—without any form of true confiscation. The possessors of these acfiscation. The possessors of these accumulations were for two years will-ing to give them up on condition that the malinformation of the populace. By malinformation we may suffer (we garden cities and the universitiesare already beginning to suffer) the weakening of the national will and the can hardly deflect opinion or control yearly revenue in their place-which failure to insist upon national success.

This handful of rich newspaper own-But this process after two years of

This handful of rich newspaper owners is, like all other categories of men, diverse in character; and we find some ing available will hardly be obtained portion of the press resolved on victory and refusing to spread panic, although the resolution bids fair to impoverish its owners. But you will find another likely to be able to pay, but such inportion, from whatever of the five mo tives I have enumerated (and usually Therefore, if the war should proceed from all five combined), playing the traitor.

subject territory of those whom they gested some time in the third year as It will probably be the very newssubject territory of those whom they think very weak.

The whole history of Ireland is nothing else than that. Ireland, until George Wyndham's land act (and to some extent even since that act), was sending overseas masses of material, vast in proportion to her wealth, as interest upon loans, which loans had been advanced to the landlord class by the probable beginning of the new phase which were most vulgarly violent against weak opponents in the past, which have shown the most of fensive lack of chivalry in military matters, which have shrieked the loud-tion upon their current revenue for short time but with an actual diminution of their permanent revenues est while opinion was still violent and tenacious in the earlier phases of the present great war, that will try to create toward the end of it a current similar immunity from the law, and similar immunity from the law, and yet masters of English public life.

Long before the war these things.

the ken of ordinary mortals. It would monwealth, a resurrection of forces at us the "Marcont scandal," and the be easy to flood the public with the which the plutocracy under which we weakness and the folly will be at the

as a whole was acutely conscious, they are by the profound popular ig- tween swindling and inefficiency, but And the very men to do it are the porance of public men and public af- there is an organic connection. God is men of the "Marconl ramp," the Indian fairs, prove too strong for any anti- not mocked.

tice with charity (for he has no creed), numbers. That is because he is to be discovered almost exclusively in the wealthier classes. His subscriptions to secret political "pools" and to the prinot real experiences, but phantoms while, in the absence of a common represented to them by the press. the act of a traitor. Yet these two policies alone are suggested by the stupid and the more intelligent sections of the English plutocracy irrespectively.

The gray of the Finnders say.

Now the accumulation of capital presented to them by the press.

Now the press means to-day in English plutocracy irrespectively.

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Now the accumulation of capital presented to them by the press.

Now the press means to-day in English plutocracy irrespectively. think that this element can any longer be regarded as a chief factor in the

or all five combined-depends sacrifice so spontaneous and supers that these mere negative follies of the and a small minority even of these-

> It lies in the presence at the head of affairs of the low born men who for bribes from shady company promoters and their families, while they rifled the silver interests and the taxation balances of India, while they robbed innocent investors—as in the Howard Union or in American "Marconis"while they still more cynically affirmed—what was, alea! true—that their con-leagues, the political lawyers in the



PERILOUS RAYS THAT GUIDE

to the investigating surgeon. Sheltered from the daylight, like a photographer, the shadow of the object through veloped like an ordinary photograph.

diffinate position of the bullet or frag-

on the day of a battle the ambu-Davidson stereoscopic picture.

taken, the operator brings a plum line | wound. and bob vertically over the spot, places

which they pass is cast upon a screen tric power which generates the rays are made by bullets travelling at high is as near perfection as any one is N-ray tubes were the theme of where it can be viewed by the naked in the vacuum tube must be supplied. velocity. In one case the bullet passed ever likely to reach.

This prompt and early detection of ernments to supply them, for it is real-graph. the nature of a wound, the course and ized that the X-ray pictures are of These pictures are prints from nega- powerful as well as the most useful these dangers at the present time. of the bullet or fragsufficient importance to justify the tives. Silver and bromide prints can means of generating the rays that we with so large a number of X-ray interest of the bullet or fragtrouble and expense. Radiographs, as be made, but in the field hospitals have. At present the dangers are betstallations making their apprearance deportance in showing whether an they are called now, possess the dis- many surgeons simply look at the ter understood and accidents are not and being placed under the control of operation is necessary or not. In the clearest guide to the way many operations, formerly the well being and recovery of the who many operations, formerly thought necessary and inevitable, have been avoided, and many legs and arms more striking and interesting than to picture is a viewing or illuminating simply look at the ter understood and accidents are not and being faced under the control of men who had not been who had not been who had not been who had not been and being and eccessarily experience, and being faced under the control of men who had not been who had not been and being and being the clearest guide to negatives and generally when they so common.

It is now known how the rays are rience, and who had to work under the control of men who had not been and being the clearest guide to negative same wet. This practice saves time, and let in the control of men who had not been and being the clearest guide to negative and generally when they so common.

It is now known how the rays are rience, and who had to work under the control of men who had not been and being the control of men who had not been and being and interest guide to negative and generally when they so common.

It is now known how the rays are rience, and who had to work under the control of men who had not been and being and the control of men who had not been and being and being and the control of men who had been and being and being and the control of men who had not been and being and being and being and being and being and being and the control of men who had not been and being and being and being and the control of men who had been and being and many lives have been saved, which | watch the development of one of these | box, in which the plate is fixed and charge. When we give a high velocity pictures.

The scene they disclose is often not

All these things are costly, but every clean through the bone, causing no effort is being made by the ailled Gov- splinter that was visible on the radio- a lingering death after exposure to The president, Sir Prace Gould.

lighted from behind.

lances may be seen congregated not far destitute of a certain fascination, geon aims at giving a history of the vacuum tube and they are stopped by from its front line; the wounded are Patches of lead with spikes of dark, wound, the entrance of the bullet, its brought to the X-ray room as quickly almost black, metal break the monotate windings, retardations and exit. In change in velocity gives us the X-ray as possible. The method of taking the ony of transparent color, while the France and Germany, and in England or Roentgen ray. The higher the pleture which is usually employed in less opaque fragments of bone lying to a slighter extent, a series of these electric speed and the more effective have had the habit of using their France is known as the Mackenzie here and there in the vicinity of the pictures is taken and shown in mov- the target, tungsten or aluminum, in hands as test objects in such pictures. wound present in their arrangement ing films to students. There are the quickly stopping them the more pene- tures as are here displayed. Having decided the point of view and number a striking contrast to the kinematographic effects which always trating the radiation. As the rays and from which the X-ray picture is to be prevailing gray of a simple, bullet divert the mind as they amuse the light move through space at nearly the a photographic plate wrapped in a productions here. In company with telling the tale of cancer and ulcer in may produce heat and excertate the black envelope upon the patient's body the dark spots a conspicuous group of all their natural stages, and the series skin.

In some of these pictures the sur- by means of an electric field in a cially for those workers The higher the

By Dr. PAUL BARTHOLOW.

In the present war, in the field and reserve hospitals, the X-ray offers a rare attraction and opportunity of the sivestigating surgeon. Sheltered the sivestigating surgeon. Sheltered the sivestigating surgeon of a special ambutation and the daylight, like a photographer, at the dark room of a special ambutation and control of the sivestigating surgeon of a special ambutation and control of the sivestigating surgeon. The process may seem to be a very simple one, but in reality it is complex to the operator. The possibility of dumdum bullets and the seem in dumdum wounds and those curious than valuable.

The "salt and pepper" effect is through; but these things are more caused by explosive bullets. In the last year the new school of the size of the secondary rays caused by explosive bullets. In the last year the new school of the secondary rays which irritate the skin. Both these first year of the war a great deal was call about these dumdum spikes of metal and patches of bone and lead.

The process may seem to be a very simple one, but in reality it is complex and attended by many difficulties and the complex to the operator. The possibility of dumdum bullets and the curious than valuable.

Some the seven danger to the secondary rays curious than valuable.

In the last year the new school of the tube, thus caused by explosive bullets. In the last year the new school of the secondary rays curious than valuable.

Some the seven danger is to the secondary rays curious than valuable.

In the last year the new school of the secondary rays dense to the secondary rays curious than valuable.

Some is also a barrier to the secondary rays curious than valuable.

In the last year the new school of the war a great deal was curious than valuable.

Some is also a barrier to the secondary rays of the war a great deal was curious than valuable.

In the last year of the war a great deal was curious than valuable.

Some is also a barrier to the secondary rays of the secondary rays of the secondary rays of a the dark room of a special ambu- even dangers to the operator. The est, but a greater experience has shown once and are ready for inspection an glass, which is broken easily, and causes lance of the Red Cross, and separated equipment and staff of one of these that the regular rifle builtet may cause hour later. A Canadian unit reports a double loss to the men working with from the battlefield perhaps by only a field X-ray ambulances are necessarily effects of an explosive character. left of ground, the surgeon is able to elaborate, requiring skilled work and detect the position of a bullet, the size great experience. There must be an factor. In the pictures here given one most daily. But probably the old and tubes have arrived in small pieces. of a fracture, by throwing the rays X-ray room, a developing room, at shows what little damage a modern school has nothing to complain of. A which affords a good example of the tissues in such a way that least one surgeon, the X-ray operator, butlet may cause if it enter a large good negative gained by exposure commercial aspects of war industry.

These dangers and the defects of

in the old days many operators died Roentgen Society of London in June. the rays from a Crookes tube, the most pointed out the great importance of to these electrons, as they are called, lead glass should be supplied, espeto make examinations and exposures with their hands very near the tube. Warts and cancer of the hands have occurred, especially among those who

There is another difficulty, the shortage of glass and rubber. This

wounds and those caused by explosive bullets. 2 and 3. X-ray photographs of the kind which involve danger unless proper precautions are used. 4. Clean wound made by bullet travelling

wound. wound the power to teach many same velocity, they are regarded as the two effects are shown in the reproductions here. In company with the members declared that the atti- and get a certain amount of N-ray fact that a thick glass and a dense

and makes one exposure to the X-ray very fine particles will be noticed on makes one exposure to the X-ray very fine particles will be noticed on the intestine that a fluminum forms an almost impenetude of the average manufacturer of executation and warry growth unless glass are not necessarily the same tube which is held a short distance the gray background.

Aluminum forms an almost impenetude of the average manufacturer of executation and warry growth unless glass are not necessarily the same trable barrier to the X-ray. Very X-ray apparatus was that any kind they were careful to stand a long way ("Archives of Radiology," June, 1916).